every village maintains its own little flock and its shepherd. In addition, individual households make a practice of buying animals to fatten for slaughter, for example, for the feast that ends Ramadan, and they wander freely in the yards and streets, usually given into the care of a youngster. Poultry and eggs are of similar dietary importance to the villager, and chickens, ducks, geese, and turkeys are kept in large numbers. Mountain partridges, the chikaw spoken of above, are often penned in small cages for fattening. Poultry are usually left to forage for themselves, and almost every household has a number of chickens pecking for nourishment in its yard. One street in Rowandus, to the fearful exclusion of dogs and hyenaers, was entirely dominated by a huge rooster.

For drawing the plough oxen are commonly used. Donkeys and mules are occupied with the transportation of burdens, sometimes far out of proportion to the size and apparent capacity of the animal. Only the Nestorian Christians seem to pack horses, unlike the Kurd or Arab. It is interesting that muleteers, like their compatriots in Europe and America, often carry on extended monologues with their beasts, quite oblivious to the amusement of listeners. One such speech, addressed to a donkey by a young driver and transcribed at the time ran, in part, as follows: "Go along, uncle (khalo), go along. Why are you so slow today? Why are you no longer a friend to me? Ullah! watch out! You nearly broke into that shop. Come along, uncle, you will have me killed one day." Horses, mules, and donkeys

for an egg alone) is a notorious commodity. The army officers are believed to visit their village regularly, and all of its inhabitants are held to suffer from "the Russian sickness," a souvenir of the Czarist army. The investigator's interpreter carried on some scandalous conversations with some of these girls until they were driven away by the house-owner, but whether there was serious intention or simply the earthy banter of peasant women is hard to decide. In Egypt it is possible to hear daily such exchanges between fellahin men and women without the slightest possibility of realization. Inasmuch as Balikian has its husbands and sons, it is impossible to believe that any significant proportion of its female population is so engaged, despite the verdict of the Rowanduzis and the wild boasts of the younger army officers.

If there is any occupation in the town which carries with it the double stigma of being at once menial and dirty, it is that of the roasters of meat or kababchis. The kababchi, always in some state of undress and blackened with the smoke of his fire, is hence often of a surly and resentful temperament, and a number of stories, by no means confined to the Kurds, confirm this character. The kababchi works in close liaison with the butcher, from whom he obtains his meat, and, like the butcher, works according to order. Two confine their operations to their houses, while the third maintains a smoke-blackened booth in the bazar. The meat is prepared in two ways, either finely

Rowanduz or Erbil is a proud sight along the road, and its 45
arrival an event of great joy in his household.

The shops of the cobblers are also to be found in 294
the bazar, and, like the carpenters and tinsmiths, they live 29]
more by maintenance than by manufacture. A variety of
footgear is worn in the area, including European boots,
shoes, and woman's sandals, and several local types of
slippers. Some village men wear a simple moccasin of rawhide laced across the top of the foot with thongs, but the cobblers of Rowanduz have no hand in these, just as none would attempt the manufacture of a European shoe. One type made in the town, extremely popular with men of the lower classes, is a slipper with rubber soles (cut from an old automobile tire) and uppers of woven cord which have some elasticity. Otherwise, only some simple leather slippers and wooden clogs (kabkabs) are produced for women. One 413
shop is filled with European shoes of all styles, brought [439]
in from Baghdad or abroad, and almost all persons of the upper classes, government personnel and local population, affect these for outdoor wear. Most of the cobbler's work 296
is thus in repair, particularly on Fridays, for the soldiers from the barracks bring boots which, stout as they are, suffer considerably from the rocky terrain. The two town bootblacks are middle-aged men who wander among the shops and chaykhanas with their wooden polish-boxes, looking for [521]
customers and passing on gossip with considerable banter.

An important trade is that of the cloth-sellers or 443

does not command a high price, but provides plenty of leisure and social intercourse. The barber, as in Europe or America, is a notorious channel of gossip, and, albeit poor, thinks of himself as a person of some importance in the community.

Much miscellaneous transport is required for short distances by a town such as Rowanduz, for example, of building materials or firewood, and a number of men find employment as muleteers, furnishing their own beasts and working by contract. "Muleteer" is a misnomer, inasmuch as both mules and donkeys are in use, the latter animal even thought preferable by reason of its cheapness and docility. Little harness is used, and the secret of loading the beasts consists in dividing the load and balancing it across the back on the animal's flanks, tied up in bundles, as with wood, or stitched in twin burlap sacks. Brightly-coloured saddle-bags of heavy woven wool, not unlike rugs in texture, may be purchased, and many animals are caparisoned with tassels and other decorations. The muleteer keeps his animal near or within his house at night, and their departure from the bazar on a variety of commissions is a feature of early morning.

For longer distances and heavier loads, particularly the great quantity of material which comes from Arbil, the town has the use of two lorries. One belongs to a local entrepreneur, Hasan Nopal, who is also its driver, and who was in 1951 under contract to the government on road

Beg, Nuri Bawil Agha, and Sadiq Agha. Because that of 622
Nuri Bawil Agha has suffered adverse fortunes, the House 565
of Isma'il Beg, headed by Lali Khan, has the greatest interest in the town, owning considerable property therein. Sadiq Agha and his brother As'ad Agha have a house in the town, but their property consists of a village elsewhere in the district. The House of Muhammad 'Ali Agha might be mentioned, for it is nearby at Jindian, and its sons, such as Rashid Agha, spend much of their time in the town. The chieftains, not only of these families but of the district at large, enter into daily life to a large extent. They [521]
provide a constant source of gossip and, to some extent, revenue, for they are everyday visitors to the town and make many of their purchases there. One might inquire how young chieftains such as Karim Agha, the son of Nuri Bawil Agha, or Rashid Agha of Jindian, spend their day, and the answer is that they do very little aside from visiting friends or strolling about the town, sometimes accompanied by bodyguards. Conversation accounts for a great deal of their time. The chieftains' relations with the govern- 622
ment personnel are cordial, although they have nothing in 648
common with the younger officials and officers. An interesting meeting took place between Sayyid Ahmad of Barzan and the army officer, Colonel Khalid Naqshbandi, who had [697]
captured him during the last revolt and sent him into exile in southern Iraq. Both parties were amused at the meeting, and treated each other with the best of humor, Sayyid Ahmad,

suffice until further investigation is able to furnish a more complete account. Save in the lowest classes of society, mature women, those of the officials and officers, the aristocrats, and the wealthier townsmen, are generally restricted to the interior of their houses, and none can mix freely with society at large. It is more or less inevitable that such women have their friends and visitors among the female relatives of their fathers' and husbands' families, for only these can visit each other's houses without restriction. Because marriages are arranged between persons on a basis of comparable status, a woman's friends, like those of her husband, are close to her in rank. However, women of the upper classes are much more democratic in most respects in their demeanor toward inferiors of the same sex than their husbands are toward theirs, and spend long hours in intimate conversation with female servants, seamstresses and laundresses. The latter are, in fact, an important link with the outside world of the town, inasmuch as they are able to intermingle with others of the lower classes and hence provide the mistress of a wealthy household with welcome news and gossip. The lot of the wives of the officials and officers is much more difficult, because their friends and relatives have been left elsewhere in Iraq, and there is almost no means of making new acquaintances in the town. They, too, find pleasure in the conversation of their maids, Arab or Kurd, and, with the knowledge of the husbands concerned, may visit

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[582]
[521]

the wives of other officials, although this is far from a common practice. The wife of an official can be extremely lonely as far as feminine companionship is concerned. Townswomen of the lower classes suffer no such inconveniences, and associate with each other with great freedom. There is a mosque for women alone in the town, frequented by those of the lower classes, and is said by the townsmen to be used more as a clearing-house for idle talk than for pious exercises.

If the society of adults in Rowandus has its hierarchy, there is a very real, but short-lived, democracy for the children. The youngsters of all, officials, aristocrats, and townspeople, play with each other without any reference to the ranks of their parents, and choose their leaders in the same way. The son of a servant can be "chieftain" over his fellows, and the daughter of a laborer the arbiter of her playmates. This stage passes without any apparent difficulty as the exigencies of life call them to different tasks, some to school and others to work in their fathers' shops. New friendships, better fitted to the demands of relative status, replace those of childhood. It need not be thought, however, that these early alliances do not extend into later life, although such acquaintances do not visit each other's homes.

In concluding this section, it is possible to relate the society of Rowandus not only to that of the town in Ottoman times, but to Iraq and the Middle East at large, and to present several observations of some importance.

series made up solely of males. To this are added noteworthy collateral ancestors and, in the one or two generations closest to the chieftain in question, all of the collaterals, including the names of wives, sisters, and the latter's husbands. The importance of such a lineage lies in the fact that it is the sole patent of nobility, itself a matter of the highest social importance, and is of considerable value in the arrangement of marriages and the knowledge of one's potential friends and enemies. It is usually associated with a certain amount of folk history, the wars, revolts, feuds, and other deeds with which its personnel were concerned. Commoners are able to reproduce to some extent the lineage of their chieftain, for, as has been noticed, the honor of their leader is also their own, and animated conversations on such topics as aristocratic marriages and lineages offer an everyday source of entertainment. Unlike the mal, the familiya is not associated with a single house, and its members may live in a large number of separate establishments.

It is convenient here to dismiss the question of inheritance with a cursory survey. Inheritance is not a matter over which the Kurdish populace exercises any unique control, because it was defined in the Quran and supplemented over the centuries by the jurists and doctors of Islam. A whole branch of Islamic jurisprudence is concerned with this complex question, and a number of popular expositions are available to the general reader.[1] In

[1]Gaudefroy-Demombynes, 1946, pp. 143-151.

attend school, but none has yet sought any other career than that of the housewife. For the youths, failure in school is a personal and domestic tragedy of great moment, because it precludes a career in the government or the army, and they are often severely castigated by their disappointed fathers. At the same time, politics, the primary conversational topic of the townsmen, becomes an extravagant interest of the young men, and such matters are discussed endlessly. Homosexuality, or, at least, a very intimate masculine friendship, can be a temporary feature of this period, usually ended by marriage. It must be confessed that many of the young men of the town spend much of their time unemployed, lounging in the chaykhanas or tea-shops where, through enlisted personnel of the army or certain vagrants, they can be exposed to influences of this type.[1] A person listened to an elder brother berating one of his juniors for spending too much time in the tea-shops, a situation of some concern to the family. Adolescence can thus be a time of great stress for many of the youths of the town, and distraught young men form a type frequently encountered.

[1]One was consulted by many of the townspeople for medicine or advice. One youth of the lower classes complained of "weakness," and sought some sort of remedy. On being questioned, he confessed that he coitum cum asinis per anctes faciase, but this, prohibited by both religious and civil law, appeared to be a rare and isolated example. It does, however, illustrate the extremes which stringency in premarital sexual relations can create.

day a larger pot from this neighbor, and each time returned one still larger. Finally, as had been his original intention, Abu Muwa borrowed his neighbor's largest vessel, one of the greatest value because it was large enough to feed a company of soldiers. This he failed to return, keeping it with the intention of selling it. After several days, the neighbor called Abu Muwa, and inquired greedily if the great vessel hadgiven birth. "God remains," sighed Abu Muwas dously, "the pot is dead." "What!" shouted the enraged neighbor, "How can a pot die?" Abu Muwas laced his arm gently on the other's arm and said, "Think carefully what the judge will say tothis after you have accepted the offspring of s many pots. How can a pot give birth?" 539

The elder women also tell the children folktales of various types, but it was not possible to recor any of them in detail. The townsmen make little use of the nadi or "club" of the officials and officers, nor are they interested in alcoholic beverages or gambling. A few, while on a journey in Baghdad, Erbil, or Mosul, may be attracted by the cabarets or the houses of prostitution, but these occasions are rare and there are no such institutions in the town or the Rowandus district. 538 517 [529] [484] [547] [549]

In masculine conversation, politics, both domestic and international, overshadow any other intellectual topic, and, as might be expected, are strongly coloured by Kurdish nationalism. It is unusual to find a group of Kurds discussing matters of philosophy, science, religion, or the like, and such things find a very smal part in current interest. The Kurd, it might be said, is not particularly concerned whether the earth is round or flat, but will hold forth on contemporary affairs in the Middle East almost interminably. Kurdish nationalism, as noted at the outset, 521 [648] [668]

2: Masters E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowandus

like similar movements among the Arabs, the Greeks, and others, first became a potent factor in everyday life during the nineteenth century, and its principal target at the time was the crumbling Ottoman Empire. Its early protagonists were educated Kurdish officials and officers, organized in the familiar "literary" or "artistic" societies, and from them it spread in more or less extravagant forms to all classes of society. This preoccupation with ethnic independence, however, is not purely political, but is linked with the impingement of the modern state on a society at once tribal and feudal. To this end the warriors for Kurdish nationalism have been the chieftains, who have something more to gain than the vote, and its orators the men of the educated upper class, a point which must be discussed again in concluding this study. Agents of the Allied Powers left the Kurds under the impression they were to be given an independent state in the settlements which followed the first World War, and, insofar as this has been universally denied them (Kurdish literature, for example, is prohibited in Turkey), it is the starting point of most of their arguments. It is unnecessary to treat these nationalistic sentiments in great detail, because, with the ordinary passage of events in the Middle East, they can be exceedingly ephemeral, the friend of one day becoming the enemy of the next. Needless to say, the Kurds themselves are the heroes of these discussions, and, like many popular political expressions, such utterances

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are often unrealistic. These matters, however repetitious, are one of the most popular forms of masculine entertainment. 521 [428]

Conversation is also the principal source of amusement for the women, although, in the case of women of the upper classes, wives of the wealthier townsmen, the chieftains, and the government elite, it is confined to the privacy of their homes. Women of the lower classes gossip freely with one another on the streets or within the women's mosque. Unlike the men, among whom it commands primary interest, a discussion of politics holds little for a woman, and they are occupied with matters which seem to have greater immediate importance, the many topics of gossip which can arise in a small town. Visiting, as previously noticed, is for both sexes an everyday diversion, accompanied either with refreshments or a formal banquet, but public festivals, with music and dancing, provide throughout the year the only outstanding entertainment known by all the townspeople. Those which are held in connection with a birth, a circumcision, or a wedding can occur at any season. The religious feasts, Jayjani Ramazan and Jayjani Kurban, are determined by the lunar calendar and take place at a different time, several weeks earlier, each year. The Sayran festivals always come in the spring, and, although they are nominally secular, their obvious sacred origin has led one to discuss them with religious life. 574 527 796 527

which the mu'ezzin calls the townspeople to prayer. To 346
the right of the porch, on the street leading up through [312]
the bazar, is a pump, in 1951 in disrepair, for those [515]
desirous of praying in the mosque to make their ablutions.

The great mosque resembles those classical examples to be found in the cities of the Middle East in general aspect, and differs from them in certain ways.[1] It boasts no minaret or tower from which the mu'ezzin might give his call, and does not have an interior courtyard containing a tank or fountain of water for purification. More importantly, [529]
it is used by many of the townsmen as a sort of club, and [521]
one may find a number of them in the hours between prayers, seated or lying on the carpets of the main room, discussing purely mundane matters. In addition to the wearing of shoes, [784]
smoking and taking refreshment are forbidden within the mosque, as are animals or immature children. Strangers may [513]
sleep on its floor at night if they wish. It is commonly [485]
held that the restriction of the mosque to religious exercises, as in those of the cities, was a result of Ottoman influence, and it is interesting to find its secular uses preserved in Rowanduz. The other three mosques in the town are nondescript rubble buildings with flat mud roofs. One 346
of these, the women's mosque, is found above the bazar near 562
the civil officials' club, and is notorious in town life [521]
as a center for gossip. Men are not permitted to enter it. 554
Both townsmen and the chieftains make use of the mosques 346
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[1] Mazaheri, 1951, pp. 14-17.

the mountainside, causing his death. The luckless lad then meets the father of the jinni in fact, for his soul descends to the inferno. The Kurds also speak of shaytan ("satan," used in the Quran and the Arabic derivation of the Hebrew word for "adversary"), devilish beings like the jinni, but of a more congenial and ingenious character than the jinni. "When the first phonograph was heard in Rowandus," Ra'uf Effendi related, "the people said there was a shaytan in it." There are also tales of malicious men and women who are able to change themselves into animals, such as dogs. The townspeople, however, are far from demon-ridden, and, outside of a few precautions against jinni, these are largely matters of conversation, pertinent to the rare discussions of religion in the tea-shops.

In contrast, chawa zar, "the evil eye," is a subject of the greatest concern. One who has the evil eye may by his glance alone bring destruction to a person or an object. The interesting characteristic of the evil eye is that its possessor may be unaware of it and is normally without malice. If, for example, a childless woman looked on the son of a neighbor, that fleeting moment of jealousy and malevolence she experiences, which is, in a way, the evil eye itself, can cause the death of the child in question. Ra'uf Effendi's son had sickened and died, and he states flatly that this had been due to the evil eye. Further, it is believed that the individual who at one time or another has this unfortunate power cannot always

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and also to take part in the daily religious exercises[28]. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult ag... but a preparation for it[29].

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the house found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what e should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in e various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often bury our children out of the adult community, stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child entered a definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up well-trained in its coming duties, with an unconfirming of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent excitable or noisy conduct. The ideal was calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the homes. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Ostrup has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as pod form to chat all the time[30]. The presence of the children was noticed remarkably little, even was there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the house which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance whic did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I discovered that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance o to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-wil. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in a communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiec limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced te hint of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consonant with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the